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Speech by WU Kuo-cheng, Minister without portfolio of the Chinese Nationalist Government, recent Governor of Formosa, former political vice minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of China, former Mayor of Shanghai, before the China Institute held at the University of Washington, Seattle, on 15 Jun 53.

Thank you Professor Taylor. Ladies and gentlemen. To begin with I think I should thank Professor Taylor for the generous remarks he made about me. I really do not deserve them. If I did achieve something in my own country, it was due to my American education here. If I failed - my American education has to be blamed for it too. In the second place, I wish to compliment the China Club, the China Institute, and all the civic organizations of Washington, of Seattle, Washington for the wonderful Institute they have sponsored. I wish to express my appreciation to the City of Seattle for it has always shown a genuine friendship for my own people and a sincere, cordial regard for my country. I wish to express and record my heartfelt thanks right here. Also personally, I have a great regard for Seattle as a city. When I left here 27 years ago, I got my doctors degree from Princeton in 1927. Since then I have not been back until now. I left the country through the great port of Seattle. This time when I came back to the country, I came right here again. I have sort of a heart, warm spot for the city of Seattle.

Well - about the situation now. These really are terrible times. Standing here on this wonderful campus, I began to think of my student days here in America. I remember I used to read Charles Dickens "Tale of Two Cities." It began with these words, I can hardly recollect the exact wording but I think I can still remember some, it says: "It is a terrible time; it is a spring of hope; it is also the winter of despair." Those are just about the words that can describe the present situation now. This period which we are going through is a period where we have the spring of but hope, /where we also have the winter of despair. Not only the people in our country are suffering terribly from this period of ordeal but your country, your great country, is also going through a period of bewilderment. It is very difficult to think what we should do about the situation. There are many people who have advanced their views about the situation and have advanced possible cures. I personally shall try to advance, to add one of my own suggestions tonight, but I'll try to approach the subject from a different angle.

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I remember a story which was told me about a Benedictine monk and a Jesuit priest. Both were heavy smokers and both of them wanted to smoke. Both were in doubt whether they could smoke while meditating. So they suggested to each other that they should ask their superiors. The Benedictine went to see his superior and came back sadly disappointed. He found the Jesuit priest right there smoking. He asked: "How did you achieve it; how did you get permission?" The Jesuit said: "How did you ask the question?" The Benedictine said: "I asked the superior: Can I smoke while I meditate?" He wouldn't give me permission. The Jesuit said, "you asked the question the wrong way I asked: 'Can I meditate while I smoke?'" So here, I am trying to tell the story by way of example because in this way perhaps in this cockeyed world you have to look for cockeyed views. And perhaps cockeyed views will work and those ordinary commonplace views which are usually accepted will not work. So in case my views are not up to the standard of your conceptions, or not up to your tastes, please just consider them cockeyed.

Now -- I am fifty years old now and this year is 1953. When I think of the fifty years -- well, we have gone through about half of the twentieth century. Think of the marvelous things we have achieved during this fifty years. When I first came here 32 years ago, it took me 2^{1/4} days by ship from Shanghai to San Francisco. This time I left Formosa on May 24th, I arrived in San Francisco on May 25th. What wonders we have achieved! American democracy -- think of the atomic bomb. In those days -- in the beginning of the century we never heard of the big guns. During the first World War we heard of the "big Bertha." But now -- the atomic bomb -- and the hydrogen bomb in the making. These marvels were really achieved within the last fifty years. We have television now. In my days in this country we had just a simple crystal radio set. Men have made tremendous improvements and your country has led in making those ingenious inventions, but there is one thing wherein men have failed terribly. During the last fifty years -- think what gigantic holocausts we have gone through. We have had two major world wars -- the First World War and the Second World War. And now we are in a stage of war which we do not know how to describe. I do not know how to describe it -- it is called cold war -- it is called hot war -- and no one knows where it will lead us. So while men have made wonderful achievements in science, men have failed in the conduct of the relationship among human beings.

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Everybody is yearning for peace. You want your boys to come home -- that's why you are entering into the truce negotiations in Korea. I also yearn for peace. My country has gone through turmoil all my life. Personally, I believe I have led a more strenuous and harder life than any of you here. You have never suffered civil war. You have never suffered foreign war -- you have never suffered defeat -- you have never suffered exile. I have. So in my heart you can see I yearn for peace -- I yearn for security much more than you do. I can understand your longing for peace. I can understand your desire to have your boys back home from bleak Korea. It looks very likely that you are going to have a successful truce negotiation. But -- are you going to have peace? Are you going to have permanent peace? Is it going to be a sham? Is it going to last for your lifetime? Is it going to last for the century? No! Everyone knows that it is just a sham peace. Nobody knows what Malenkov will do next. Nobody knows what value they put on the paper which they may sign tomorrow, or day after tomorrow. It will be just a piece of paper -- it will be going to the wastebasket whenever they are ready for it. You know that! And yet you are going into the truce negotiations -- you are going for the truce because you desire at least a temporary relief. I know that in your heart, in everybody's heart in this world, we're yearning for permanent peace and permanent security. I'm supposed to give a keynote address. I think "keynote" is a very apt word because for a keynote address you've got to provide a key. I haven't got a key but I mean to provide you with one if I can.

Let's not talk about present day matters -- let's talk about generalities -- let's talk about raising ourselves to a loftier plane and think about the causes of war -- so that by studying the causes of war we might learn to avoid war in the future. Wars in the past have usually been caused by two things. One is personal ambition -- you have Alexander the Great; you have Ceasar; you have Genghis Khan; you have all of those. They had personal ambition -- a wild desire to conquer. Then you have wars because of ideologies -- religious wars. David fought for the Lord. Other people fought for their God. You have those to think of. In the modern days -- in the modern century -- we find ourselves a little bit different.

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In my mind there are four causes for modern wars. One is a modern theory -- population. You have a large population in a restricted area -- they have to survive. Therefore, they burst out of their bounds and get engaged in a war. That's one cause -- population, overgrowing population. The second cause in modern days, I think, can be called economic conflict. You have the "have's" and the "have-not's." And the "have-not's" want to be "have's" and the "have's" want to defend themselves against the "have-not's." This brews economic conflict. The third cause is the emergence of national consciousness in those areas which have been conquered by imperialistic colonial powers. As national consciousness grows, people do not want to be ruled by alien powers; therefore, they go into war to fight for their liberty and freedom. Then we come to a fourth and even more dangerous cause now. This is a combination of old ideas which existed in the old days. A combination of personal ambition with ideological principles -- called totalitarianism. I think these four are the causes of modern war -- population, economic conflict, emergence of national consciousness, and the strange combination of personal individual ambition with ideological struggle, or what we call totalitarianism. Now, since we know these four causes, how shall we remedy the situation. First, about population -- science can help with that. Science can work it two ways. In one way science can by chemical fertilizer grow more foodstuffs for people. Then modern science can control the birth rate. Therefore, I think population need no longer be a problem. The problem can be solved by modern science.

Then second, about the "have's" and "have-not's" -- economic conflict as a reason for war. I think human beings are learning. We know that by more production and by uplifting the standard of living of other people you develop a greater market. You need not dominate that market by actual political control, you do it simply by planned production and consumption, by uplifting other peoples' standard of living which gives you a more and greater market for your own products. I think by modern international trading, by growth of modern interchange of products, by the new idea that markets need not be controlled by actual political occupation, that we can avoid economic conflict.

Now about national consciousness. Since the Second World War, people have come to realize, and the European colonial powers have come to realize, the necessity of recognizing the national consciousness of the people they

have subjugated through war. They began to restore freedom -- as in India and Burma. So the third reason can be eliminated gradually although there is still a vestige of the old colonial ideas.

The most difficult to eliminate as a cause of war is the fourth cause. The new totalitarian dictatorship which is derived from a combination of personal ambition and ideological principles. That's the hardest thing now and that's what we are facing. This combination is a most terrible one. It's so difficult to eliminate. So this is the challenge now. How can we eliminate it -- totalitarianism, the dictatorship system -- that combination of personal ambition and ideological trouble as a cause of war. That is our main theme. I think this thing can only be eliminated by the spreading of the democratic system of government to the various colonies of the world. I do not mean you must have a democratic system like the American system of government, nor do I mean you must have a democratic system like the British system of government. I mean only two things. First: personal freedom must be guaranteed at any cost. Nobody should fear a knocking at the door in the night. Everybody must have his right of personal freedom guaranteed and his individual dignity guaranteed. This includes; freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of press, freedom of communication, freedom of purpose. Second: I think a democratic system needs elections. You must have free elections to guarantee peaceful transfer of authority. You don't need bullets to transfer authority. So free elections are the next requisite for democracy. I do not go into democracy as meaning a system of government like yours -- I mean only that democracy should have those two things -- one, a guarantee of personal freedom; second, free elections to guarantee peaceful transfer of authority. You must bow to the will of the majority of people.

Suppose we have that kind of democracy now, today, in every corner of this earth. Suppose we had it now in Moscow, in Peking, in Soviet Russia, China, and all the satellite countries. What do you think would be the result? Suppose Mao Tse-tung or Malenkov were deprived of their totalitarian powers; suppose they would have to depend for their power upon the will of the people -- upon the express will of the people. Do you think they would launch aggression? Do you think that they would go into vicious killings? They would be overthrown if they persisted in that -- they would be overthrown the next minute. I think that by introducing democracy in every part of the world we would become free of the danger of dictatorship -- from the combination of personal ambition and ideological struggle. Then we would have peace.

I think we have remedies for the four causes of war. So the present situation is a challenge to mankind. If we can do away with the problem of growing population; do away with economic conflict for a new idea of international trade and interchange of products; recognize national consciousness among people; if we can help to establish democracy in every part of the world -- then all the causes of war would be eliminated and the world may hope for permanent peace.

Now let's apply this to the actual problems of today. Everybody here, everybody in this country, and many other people in this world are focusing attention on the truce talks in Korea. I, for one, do not pay any attention to them. I trust nothing -- no paper, no document, no treaty -- to which the communists put their signature. You ladies and gentlemen have never had any personal struggle with the communists. I have had my share -- for years and years. I know the Chinese Communist leaders personally -- I know their ways of thinking, their mentality. I know they are just marking time for the time being. So I do not trust their words. I won't trust Moscow. I won't trust Peking. I won't trust the communists. There is only one thing which could make me believe that Soviet Russia is working for peace. Unless the Soviets do this, I won't trust them. What is this thing? For them to tear down the Iron Curtain around Russia and freely accept all other peoples of the world just as your country allows other people to come here freely. Unless Russia provides guaranteed personal freedom for Russian citizens, unless Russia provides free elections for the Russian people -- I would not trust Russia. I know that where dictatorship exists, war can be waged any moment. So there is the only test. Without it I will not trust the communist's word. For this reason I'm not paying any attention to the truce talks. You may have a truce today. You may have the truce signed tomorrow. After that you may have peace negotiations. It's to the advantage of Mao Tse-tung and Malenkov and their countries to mark time for the sake of their schemes. Therefore, they want to talk. After they are ready for other things -- as soon as they feel they are strong enough for more aggression they will go ahead. These truce talks -- peace negotiations -- are worth nothing. So I don't pay any attention to them.

Their dictatorship system is out to destroy democracy. Therefore, the present world is in a struggle between democracy and totalitarian dictatorship --

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because if democracy prevails the totalitarian system the communists have will collapse. Therefore, they are out for our destruction. The question is will it be Europe first or Asia first. But the question is only asked in your country -- in the democratic world. In the communist world this question has never come up. You don't see anything in Pravda -- you don't see anything in Russia, you don't see signs of any doubt there behind the Iron Curtain whether they want to advance in Europe or whether they want to advance in Asia because they are advancing in Asia -- because Asia is the soft underbelly of the democratic world today. Lenin once said: "The road from Moscow to Paris and Washington is through Peking and Calcutta." So from the days of Lenin they knew that Asia is the key to domination of the world. While you are debating whether Europe or Asia should be first for defense they have always decided it's Asia -- not Europe. Why do they do that? First, because Asia has tremendous population. Asia has more than half of the population of the world. Asia has tremendous natural resources. Asia also has all the four characteristics which can produce war: a population which the land cannot afford; economic conflict of the "have's" and the "have-not's"; a full growth of national consciousness -- and from these three factors it has become a fertile ground for the propagation of communism in the ideological struggle. So that in Asia you have all the four causes of war right there. That is why it is the game of the planners of Soviet Russia to attack Asia first.

Let's look further at Asia as it is today. China is gone -- except Formosa, tiny Formosa. China with its 450 million people, my own beloved country, is downtrodden by the communists -- just a satellite to Soviet Russia. India -- what is India doing now? India is making the same mistakes that we made a few years ago. India is committing two mistakes -- externally and internally. Externally it wants to remain neutral. It wants to be a bridge between the western democracies and Soviet communism which at one time was also our foreign policy. And we failed miserably. India is committing another mistake -- which we made internally. India is trying to run its government on a one-party system which will eventually result in corruption and disaster.

Then about Japan. Japan is defeated -- unarmed.

The Philippines: the Philippines have an army of only 53 thousand men. Indochina: Over there in Indochina the French with the Foreign Legion -- the

famed Foreign Legion of 200 thousand foreign troops -- and another 200 thousand Viet Nam troops are fighting against 200 thousand Vietnamese and have been fighting for seven years to no avail. Siam: is a government of vested interests. Siam has about 80 thousand troops, including the police. Burma: is divided against itself. The Burmese troops couldn't even fight against just a few thousand of our guerrilla forces there. How could Burma withstand a communist invasion? In Malaya, England, the proud Great Britain, sent about 50 thousand Army and Navy troops to fight about five thousand guerrillas for eight years. Indonesia: an army of about 100 thousand but the communists are spreading quite a lot of propaganda and causing much dissension.

So looking at this vast area it is a power vacuum -- and it has all of the causes which make war possible. How do the communists control this area? What is the communist procedure to make their occupation of vast areas successful? What is the communist procedure for aggression? Two things; two principles: One -- the Kremlin will never use Russians. The Kremlin always tries to use local people. Take in Korea: It took you two years of fighting to discover this brilliant idea that you should have armed the South Koreans. In the beginning when the war started, were there any Russians? No. Only North Koreans. And afterwards, were there any Russians? No. Only Chinese volunteers. The Russians always try to use local people -- try to use other nationalities. That's their system.

Second. The Russians always try to enslave the people of the satellite countries through the adoption or imposition of the communist system of government. They are not shy about imposing their ideas, their ideologies or their system upon other people. By imposing their system of government in other areas, they enslave the people in those areas and make them serve their purposes. Those are two methods which the Russians have adopted and they have worked.

Your country is the greatest, mightiest empire which we have ever witnessed in history. You are regarded, no matter whether you like it or not, as the leader of the democratic free world. You are the principal target which Moscow aims to destroy. You have the responsibility thrust upon you. You have the world leadership now. Maybe you do not like to have it but it's with you now, and you have to bear the burden -- and bear it properly. So the future of the

world, the outcome of the struggle between democracy and communism lies in your hands. We have to do our part but we are poorer, smaller, less powerful than you are -- you who are the leaders of the free world. Whether the free world can survive the struggle does not depend upon tiny Formosa. It depends upon you -- you can make the war victorious or you can make it fatal. If you win, we will win with you. If you sink, we have no other course than to sink ourselves. So the responsibility is yours. What are you going to do about it?

There are things you have done which have proved of some usefulness and some purpose. Suppose we go back again to the causes of war. You have tried to extend technical aid and economic assistance to other countries. That is very good because by doing those things you are trying to raise the standard of living of other nations. Therefore, you are trying to do away with two of the causes of war which I first mentioned -- population and economic conflict. But there are also things you have failed to do. The things which you have failed to do are these: First, there are still vestiges of colonial empire, vested interests in the Far East, in the Near East, in the Middle East. You try to bow yourselves to the will of Great Britain and France. In doing this you are neglecting the interests of the local people. Therefore, you have not given recognition to the national consciousness of those parts of the world. That is one thing you have failed to do.

A second thing you have failed to do is to really help other people adopt the democratic system of government. You say "we have a wonderful system of government, we like it, we are proud of it, but whether you want to have it or not is your question, we don't care." That's your way of doing things. It is very good of you -- it is very noble of you -- but it does not win this war for you. So in these two things you have failed. Now, why have you failed and what is the result? You have failed because you are not accustomed to world leadership. We were talking the other day about a comparison between the British and you. The British never had world leadership -- the British only played world politics for 650 years. Theirs is a different game -- it is only for them -- for their advantage. They play that game -- world politics -- viewing for power, power politics, just for their own selfish advantage. You have no ulterior motive. World leadership was dropped upon you without your seeking it. We recognize you as the leader. Burma recognizes you as the

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leader. Everywhere they recognize you as the leader of the democratic world. You didn't ask for it, but you've got it. But still -- you are not accustomed to that leadership, you don't know what to do with it. That is why you have failed -- and we cite specific reasons why you have failed -- as the Oriental people, and the other people see it. First, you are inconsistent in your policy. Take Indochina: On the one hand you say that you want the Indochinese to be independent -- free and democratic; on the other hand you want France to maintain a strong hold in French Indochina. You are inconsistent there -- so inconsistency is one of your failures. I won't mention China and Korea -- those things which concern myself. I just wanted to mention Indochina as an example. There are too many other examples of your inconsistency.

Secondly, you have a terrible psychological complex. This complex works this way. You say "being democratic ourselves, we do not want to interfere in other peoples policies." These are very high, lofty, and noble principles but when you come down to it your own security is involved. If you have democracy, you want to preserve your democracy. Suppose you leave all the other countries to their own fate; suppose dictatorship is adopted everywhere; suppose totalitarianism is adopted everywhere; suppose communism spreads everywhere -- where will you be then? The communists are not shy about propagating their ideas -- but you are. You have a psychological complex about it. While I was in Grinnell College, my alma mater, I was talking to a man, a very good scholar about Grinnell, a private institution, being in financial hardship, Grinnell would not accept any Federal aid because by accepting Federal aid we are afraid of government control and government interference in our college. That was my friend's opinion. I said: "Suppose the Federal Government tells you 'we will give you this aid on only two conditions: First, that the Board of Trustees shall be freely elected; second, all elected to the Board of Trustees shall be based upon a majority vote. Outside of those two conditions, you can do what you please'." He said: "Why, that would be wonderful." Well, I do not want you to interfere in other peoples politics, I do not want you to interfere in the other peoples local questions. But when you give your aid, you should insist on two things: "First, you've got to guarantee personal freedom; second, you've got to guarantee free elections. You can do anything else you wish, you can adopt any system

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you wish but those two basic requirements must be complied with. Otherwise you will not get anything." That's basic democracy. How can there be democracy without those two fundamentals. That's why I say you have a psychological complex.

You have another failing. You have indulged in wishful thinking. You like Titos. You would like Mao Tse-tung to become a Tito. You try to dally with the communists, and wish for Titos who will never come. By this wishful thinking you get two bad results: In the first place you keep on dallying with communism -- and people who believe in democracy ask "where are you now?" "Are you really for democracy or are you really for communism?" So you lose quite a lot of support from those people in the Far East and in the Middle East and in the Near East who really work for democracy.

In the second place, you play the game of the communists. The communists deliberately give you false information about differences between Mao Tse-tung and Malenkov -- and next thing you do is try harder to make a Tito out of Mao Tse-tung.

You offer him better terms -- which is all wrong. So there you have another inconsistency. That's why now in Korea people shout "Yankees go home!" That's why in Italy they shout "Yankees go home!" It is because they have placed so much hope in you that they are disappointed. It is not hate, it is not bitterness. It is just because they have lost faith and confidence in you, they think you are unreliable. That's why they say "Yankees go home!"

For your security's sake, for the whole free world's security sake, I hope that you will really take world leadership seriously, and, if you permit me, I would like to mention certain principles of policy that I think you should adopt. If you adopt these principles and stick to them I think the world would have a great opportunity. First, you must try by every means to induce and compel Soviet Russia and the other communist countries to lift the Iron Curtain. If that is done we could be sure of peace. But unless they do that don't trust them. Until Russia and the communist countries do this, the second thing you've got to do is to continue to arm yourselves. You've just got to be wary -- you must not pay too much attention to truce talks. You must not just desire to have your boys home because if your boys are home today, more boys may have to be sent out tomorrow. If you don't send them out tomorrow, then the next day, perhaps, your own cities will be bombed. So you've got to continue to arm yourselves and to prepare for any eventuality unless Soviet Russia gives up its advantage and drops the Iron Curtain. The third thing

is to continue the aid and assistance which you have rendered to other nations -- the weak nations, the poverty stricken nations, the have-not's so that their standard of living may be raised. Fourth is to induce the former colonial powers to give up their former privileges and try to work together with the people in the former colonial areas for the common welfare. Fifth is to encourage and foster the growth of democratic systems in the countries to whom you are extending aid. And finally: you have to persevere in all these things. To enumerate again: First, you must induce and compel the Soviets to abandon and drop down the Iron Curtain; second, before the Soviet's do that, unless the Soviet's do that, you have to continue to arm yourselves -- to prepare for any eventuality; third, continue the aid and assistance you are giving to the countries which need them; fourth, induce the former colonial powers to abandon, to give up, their privileges in the former colonial areas, and try to work together with those areas for the common good; and fifth, help establish and foster the growth of democratic systems of government in the various parts of the world as much as you can; and finally, which is the main thing, you must continue and persevere in this program -- you must not sacrifice moral principles, the principles which I have suggested, for expediency. You have to stick to it -- you must assert your firm leadership in this matter. Unless you do, you will not only lose your leadership, but your own security will be threatened. Those are my suggestions. Today is the spring of hope as well as the winter of despair. If you can do these things we might turn this winter of despair into a spring of hope. But you must remember that time is not on our side. Time is not on the side of democracy -- time is on the side of the communists, both for men and for materials.

We have 450 million people right now in China downtrodden and enslaved by the communists -- and the Chinese communists are threatening now on the mainland to liquidate all possible opposition leadership, to terrorize the masses, and to indoctrinate the young. Give the communists a decade and they will have all the young people in China indoctrinated -- which would give them tremendous manpower. So in men, democracy is losing. In material, yours is the greatest industrial potential. You think no one can beat you, however, in the free world we always work for two things: Guns and butter, with

butter foremost. But in the Soviet Russia they are just working for guns and no butter. You talk about your wonderful production -- twice or three times that of Soviet Russia. But how much of that is wasted -- not exactly wasted, but wasted from the Soviet viewpoint? How much is used by your civilian consumption? In Russia every ton of oil which they dig out of the earth is devoted to a single purpose -- your destruction, the destruction of the free world. So both in men and material we are losing as time drags on.

This, the greatest opportunity for mankind, is also the greatest challenge for you. You can make a winter of despair. You can also make a spring of hope. Let's pray fervently to God that you make a spring of hope. I thank you.

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